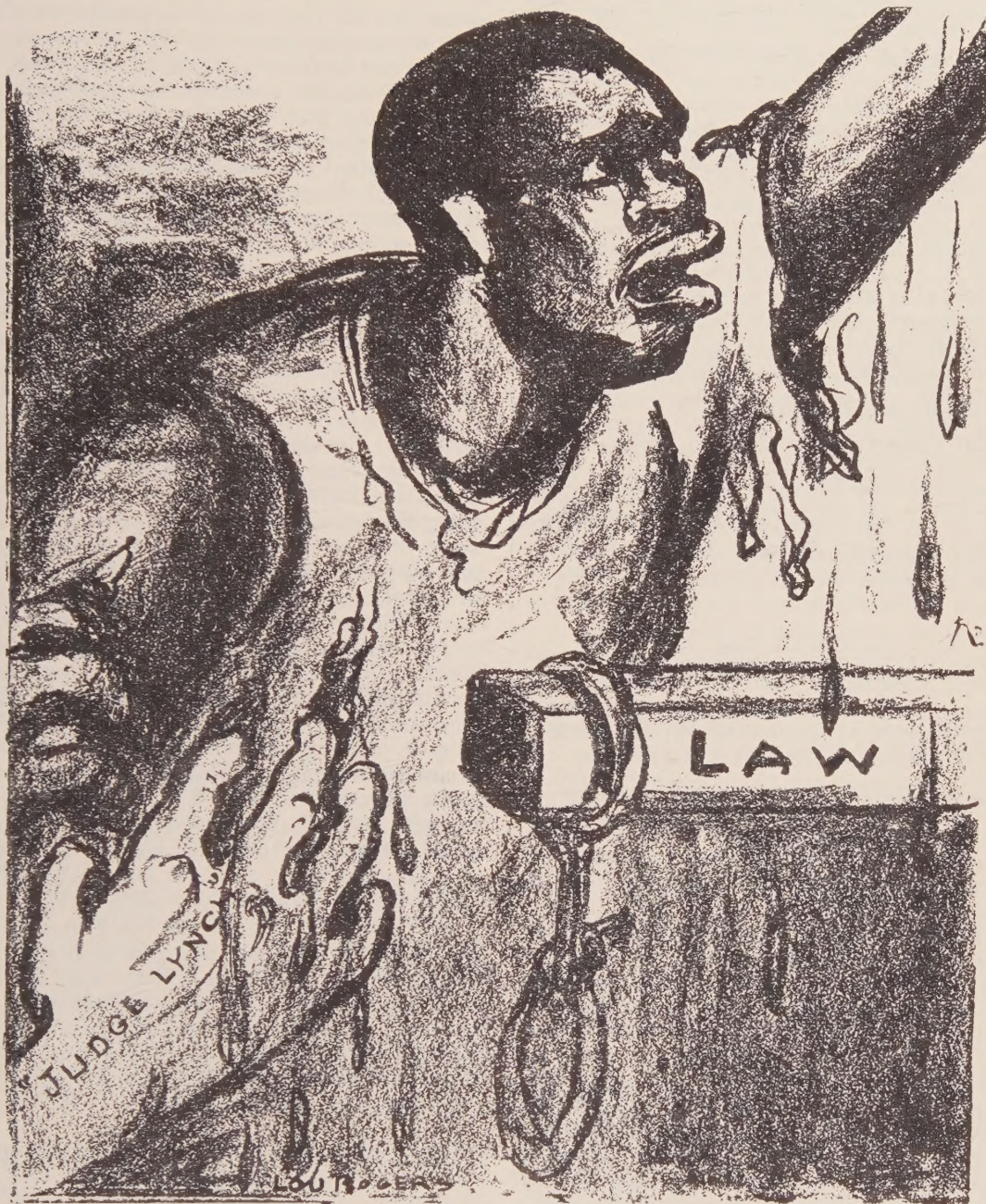


# The Workers' Council

Vol. I.

New York, June 15, 1921.

No. 6.



In the Name of Law and Order

The Socialist Party Convention  
From the Italian Front



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
The Lesson of Tulsa.....	82
The Socialist Party Convention—A Foretaste	82
Raising the Grand Chief's Salary.....	83
Lord Gompers, This Is Your Fight!.....	84
A Free Press and the New York Call.....	84
Incredible Menshevik Atrocities.....	85
The Detroit Convention and the Socialist Party .....	86
From the Italian Front.....	87
The Amalgamated Beats the Wolf.....	89
International Notes .....	92
Program Suggestions for the Socialist Party Convention .....	93
A "Formula" for Social Revolution.....	94
Appeal of Chinese Organizations to Russian Workers .....	96

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## Editorials

### THE LESSON OF TULSA

Sixty-five to seventy dead Negroes and ten to fifteen dead whites! A square mile of Negro habitations demolished! Whatever the investigation in Tulsa, Okla., may find concerning the causes of this latest negro pogrom, these simple facts prove that this was no struggle between blacks and whites, but a butchery of helpless Negroes by a band of white terrorists. That a few white men also lost their lives proves nothing. Was it not proven in the Chicago race riots that more than one white man was killed by bullets from the pistols of his own wildly shooting fellows?

There seems to be a great deal of confusion still as to the immediate incident that precipitated this horrible outbreak. According to one report it followed upon an attempt to liberate a young Negro from prison who had been accused of attacking a white woman. Another version states that there has been a great deal of dangerous unrest among the Negro inhabitants of Oklahoma since the peonage scandal in Georgia and other southern states forcibly attracted their attention to the same conditions in their own state.

The Negro of the southern states to-day, fifty years

after the civil war, is still virtually the slave of the rich white employing class. His lot is even worse than that of the "po' white trash" of the south. For over a century he has borne his slavery blindly, too ignorant to know that the nation guarantees him rights he has never been strong enough to defend. The war which drafted thousands of young Negroes into the army, and the scarcity of labor in the North which led other thousands to better paid jobs in the large cities, gave him the self-confidence that he hitherto lacked. He has had a taste of life, has learned from his own experience, or from the experience of others, that the black man, too, has human rights. He was quick to see that the planters of the South were beginning to feel the curtailment in their labor supply, and his self-confidence rose to the point where he resented oppression that he had hitherto borne with patient resignation. In his pamphlet on Georgia and the Negro, Governor Dorsey mentions that cases of Negro insubordination are becoming more and more frequent, a thing that was unheard of only a few years ago. He states that on a number of occasions Negroes were liberated from prison before lynching parties could be arranged. So, he adds laconically, "a number of innocent victims were saved from an unjust death."

The Negro of the South is waking up. But he will continue to be the victim of lynch murders and pogroms until he learns that he must defend himself. The number of lynch murders is increasing from year to year. And comparatively few of their victims are accused of rape. "Peonage"—slavery,—exists in every state with a large Negro population. The government periodically "investigates," but the Negro's lot is unchanged. Political equality for the Negro is a hollow mockery, economically, politically and socially, the Negro is still the paria of society.

It lies in the hands of the black man to change it. He need but show his determination to resent every unjustified attack by the whites, with the same weapons that the whites are using against him. Then, and not until then, this butchery of black men will cease. Let the Negro once become conscious of his own manhood, and he will force the white man to see in the black neighbor a human being.

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION—A FORETASTE

The Socialist Party has at last come into its own. Its conversion to Americanism which began at Albany when the party blazoned forth as the defender of the "sacred" ballot and the American system of representative government as against the Soviet system of Russia and was continued by the 1920 convention which provided that only *citizens* should hereafter be eligible for office in the Socialist Party and that the clause forbidding elected officials from voting for militarism be stricken out, has now come to a successful conclusion. In recognition of its conversion,



the city of Detroit has set aside the Northeast High School for the use of the coming Socialist Party Convention.

In making plans for the coming convention, the Detroit comrades mindful of the new orientation of the party's position and anxious to be free from the taint of anything "foreign," refused to hold the convention in the workers' Labor Lyceum, located in the foreign section. No! That would never do! It applied instead for the use of a public school building. The request of the Detroit local was readily granted. Now it can quite truthfully say, as reported in the New York Call, "this is the first time in the history of the Socialist Party that the national organization has obtained for convention purposes the use of a public school." In short its campaign for Americanism has been swift and short and crowned with complete success. The use of a public school is a fitting recognition of the party's attitude and it is to be hoped that the chairman's opening address will be preceded by the spirited singing of the Star-Spangled Banner.

What matters it if the party membership has been slowly shrivelling, that it has fallen from 110,000 to about 18,000 in two years; that it has only one-third of the members that remained after the wholesale expulsions and suspensions following the Left Wing episode in 1919! So long as the purity of its principles remains intact, no migration of members out of the party will cause it to swerve from its revolutionary, or rather—American—position!

A few delegates there will be at the Detroit convention who have striven consistently to keep the party in line with revolutionary Socialism, who have attempted to keep the party in the path it marked out at the St. Louis Convention. They were in a minority at the 1919 convention, but were overwhelmingly upheld by the membership. They were in a minority at the 1920 convention, but in spite of the many resignations after the Albany affair, the referendum on the question of affiliation with the Third International was lost by a vote of barely 38, showing that the membership was evenly divided between the Rights and Lefts.

The Party officials nevertheless have ever since acted as if they had a solid and overwhelming majority of the membership behind them. They summarily rejected the 21 points. They decided to send delegates to the Berne conference of Centrist groups, until opposition within the party forestalled them. They refused to send a mission to Russia although ordered to do so by a unanimous vote of the Convention, and after the mission was elected and had secured passports.

The culmination to this arrogantly reactionary policy is to be seen in the resolution introduced by the National Secretary of the Socialist Party, Branstetter, which brands all *advocates* of affiliation with the Third International with treachery and describes them as "unprincipled and unscrupulous members serving the interests of either the Communist International or the Department of Justice and in either case serving the interests of the American capitalists," and demands their immediate expulsion.

It is putting it mildly to state that no more mendacious, no more utterly dishonest and cowardly resolution has ever disgraced any Socialist convention, not

even that, perhaps, of the majority Socialists of Germany. It is interesting to note that Branstetter's crony, Stedman, who introduced a similar resolution in his branch was recently completely snowed under in a vote for delegates to the Detroit Convention, and that Engdahl, standing for unconditional affiliation was elected two to one. It is hardly to be expected that the convention will have the courage to face the issue squarely and pass this resolution.

A study of the convention agenda indicates that this "newer" conception of the Third International and Communism is not confined to Branstetter and Stedman, the hero of Minor's "red Raid in Detroit," where incidently Stedman is planning another Red Raid. We find for example, the following motion under "Relations with other parties":

Motion No. 2—The Socialist Party reaffirms its policy of "no fusion, no political trading," with other political parties or organizations, whether they are avowedly the defenders of the existing system or masquerade as "Reform," "Liberal," "Labor" or "Communist" parties. The National Executive Committee is instructed to enforce the provisions in the party constitution, prohibiting fusion, compromise or trading with any other political party or organization.

Another resolution declares its opposition to the Soviet system because "it is a system of delegated power which deprives the working class of any direct voice in the election of responsible public officials and prevents them from exercising any effective control or influence over the administration in power. Such a system of delegated power is opposed to the experience ideals and aspirations of the American workers and will not and should not be acceptable to them."

A long article by Branstetter is being circulated in Branstetter's "Official Press Service", in which the Soviet system is viciously denounced, and falsely described in part.

Since the N. E. C. has failed, contrary to the European practice to sign the names of the authors of the various motions, it is impossible to know which the N. E. C. itself is sponsoring.

With the working class movement in a ferment, with unemployment rife everywhere, with capital more insolent and more thoroughly organized in its war against labor than ever before and with the Third International standing forth as a beacon light, as the only hope of a suffering working class, the Socialist Party of America, as its final act of treason before its complete destruction—stands forth with its solution—expel the advocates of the Third International.

## RAISING THE GRAND CHIEF'S SALARY

Republics may be ungrateful, but not labor unions. While wages of workers everywhere are being slashed, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers at the close of its convention in Cleveland took a strong stand against this movement. The delegates calmly voted to increase the salary of Warren S. Stone, Grand Duke of the Brotherhood, from \$14,500 to \$25,000.

No doubt the collective breasts of the assembled delegates heaved with righteous pride as they did so. For could they not truthfully boast of the fact that their Grand Duke was the highest paid labor chief in the country? They were no pikers, not they!

What matters if the wages of the workers had just been cut by the Railway Labor Board? What matters



if the rank and file will not get in a year what the Grand Chief will get from the workers in a month?

It evidently mattered not at all, for the press dispatches state that "Wage reductions ordered by the Railway Labor Board *were not discussed.*" The convention closed without even a discussion of the most important facing the railway worker—evidently for lack of time; the delegates were too tired. They had just enough time to raise Stone's salary a bit.

Nothing more clearly indicates the utter bankruptcy of the present leadership of the American Trade Unions than this one incident at Cleveland.

### LORD GOMPERS, THIS IS YOUR FIGHT!

Since the publication of our last issue the fight against Gompers in the American Federation of Labor has assumed proportions that are as astounding as they were unexpected. In the past twenty five years the election of the President of the A. F. of L. was little more than an empty form which was repeated year after year with practically no opposition. What opposition there was usually came from socialist delegations which now and again screwed up their courage sufficiently to make a perfectly harmless attack upon the invulnerable Trade Union Czar. To be sure Gompers too had his enemies in the organization. But the grand old man is, if anything, a shrewd politician, and has developed, in the years of his presidency, an extended system of patronage that effectively bought off every disgruntled opponent before he became really dangerous. He watched over every position to be filled in the Federation itself. The government in Washington has always sought Gompers' recommendation in filling certain offices and commissions. International, and even local unions, have been trained to wait upon the word of the Grand Chief before appointing their most important officers, in return for very definite favors for the organization.

But evidently Mr. Gompers has overreached himself. The opposition to his presidency, which only a few weeks ago seemed a weak and unorganized uprising on the part of a few dissatisfied gentlemen, is spreading like wild-fire, and draws one group after the other into line. First of all there are the Irish, who form a strong numerical contingent of the American Labor movement, and who are up in arms over Gompers' opposition to the cause of Irish freedom, after it had found indorsement in two consecutive conventions. They accuse him of pro-British sympathies, and interpret his unqualified support of the League of Nations as a pro-British act.

There are, furthermore, the Republicans, who stood little chance, under the regime of the Democratic Gompers, of participating in the division of the spoils. They realize that there are certain government offices of importance that have always been filled upon the recommendation of the American labor chieftain, and are eager, consequently to remove the Democratic Mr. Gompers in order to put one of their own choice in his place.

There are, moreover, the mine workers who have now united upon a program of nationalization, for which they can hope no sympathy from the Mr. Gompers who so effectively side-tracked the agitation for

the "Plumb Plan". With them, for the same reason, stand the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Finally there is another element that has joined the chase. It consists of those who, for various reasons, are up in arms against Gompers' hostile attitude against Russia, reasons that are by no means either revolutionary or idealistic. They simply maintain that the United States, in keeping up a virtual blockade against Russia, has cut off a valuable market for American products, and insist upon the reopening of trade relations with Soviet Russia because such a step would mean employment for hundreds of thousands that are idle to-day. Not only Johnston and Lewis, both of them candidates for the presidency, but also Timothy Healy, the erstwhile Crusader against everything that was socialistic, who has turned over a new leaf since his recent trip to Europe showed him how deep the chasm is that yawns between capital and labor, are among his bitterest adversaries.

In this connection the position of the Jewish Unions is not without interest. They who always flaunted the red flag of radicalism to the world, but never voted against Gompers in American Federation of Labor conventions, they who, in spite of their little tin God, Meyer London, have always supported Soviet Russia, have until now, so far as we have been able to discover, steadfastly refused to take sides. Not even the diplomacy of the Irish element, who persist in calling Gompers a Britisher, because they fear that too much stressing of his Semitic origin would antagonize this powerful element, has succeeded in drawing them out.

In America it is dangerous to judge the size and strength of a movement from the noise that it makes. And it is by no means an established fact that the convention, whose delegates have always been elected under the paternal eye and the guiding of the all powerful Gompers machine, will register the dissatisfaction of the membership or respond to the noisy protestations of his opponents. But for the first time since he assumed the presidency of American organized labor, Gompers is rocking on his throne. And it will take all the cleverness of which the old fox is capable to keep it from turning over.

### A FREE PRESS AND THE NEW YORK CALL

The New York Call and the Milwaukee Leader have at last won their fight for the restoration of second-class mailing privileges. The Call signalized its victory by printing on its first page a eulogy of the glories and greatness of a free press, holding that without such freedom "brute force must rule and not the force of ideas," "Let those who will," it declared, "sneer at freedom of the press and speech." This is of course strictly in line with the Jeffersonian attitude of the Call.

The New York Evening Post comments on this editorial. It subscribes to "this admirable plea for freedom of thought," and adds that "it looks forward to the day when the Call will hasten to invoke those principles not only for capitalistic America but for Soviet Russia." And the Evening Post, it must be admitted, is at least logical. One cannot quite well sing the glories of free speech and at the same time either expressly or by implication ap-



prove the suppression of counter-revolutionary papers by Soviet Russia.

No one will seriously claim that thought and speech should not be "free," that is, that all people should have the right to freely express their ideas and thoughts. But our thinking has been so warped by the notions of liberalism, that it is impossible for a great many, including the editors of the Call, to realize that when a government refrains from suppressing Socialist newspapers, that does not as a result give us a free press; nor does it make the press free. Such thinking leaves out of consideration the fact that in order that there really be a free press, all classes must have the material necessities for the maintenance of a press. Such means are at present, in every capitalist country, exclusively the possession of the capitalist class. This class controls the press, and it actually owns it.

Not only is it impossible for the workers at present to possess a press of any importance, but the power of the government is always ready at hand to suppress any Socialist paper which, in the opinion of the executive committee of the capitalist class, is guilty of printing matter which is seditious, that is, matter which the ruling class would rather not have circulated.

The policy of the new postmaster-general, Mr. Hays, is by no means a victory for free speech, even in the liberal sense. Under the new policy, papers that fall afoul of the law as interpreted by Mr. Hays, will be barred entirely from the mails, instead of enjoying the blessings of the third-class rates when judged unworthy of the second.

It is childish, nay worse, to talk about the press being free under capitalism. A free press, like the rest of our "liberties," is a purely political right, and without any economic power behind it, it is not worth very much. The fact that workers may send their paper through the mails will not give them any press to send through the mails. The right of assemblage, when all the halls are owned by the masters, will not avail very much.

The press will not be free until the workers not only have the "right" but also the material means at their disposal with which to make the exercise of this right possible. This is a condition we can look forward to only when capitalism has been finally abolished. The press will not be "free" during the transition from capitalism to socialism. The workers' dictatorship will have to defend itself against counter-revolution just as the capitalist dictatorship defends itself now by sending to jail Debs, Larkin, Gitlow, Ruthenberg, Ferguson and Winitsky for expressing and printing ideas which the capitalist dictatorship thinks dangerous to its rule.

The decision of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals of June 6, sustaining Burleson's exclusion of the Call from the second class mails, came just a week after the Call's somewhat premature celebration of Hays' order as a "victory" for a free press. The class conscious Court of Appeals understands quite fully the need of muzzling the worker's press. It has the power to do so and will allow nothing to stand in the way, not even the so-called guaranty of free speech contained in the First Amendment.

The court stands squarely with the Constitutional Convention of 1787 which, speaking through Gouverneur Morris, held that "life and liberty were generally said to be of more value than property. An accurate view of the matter would, nevertheless, prove that property was the main object of society."

The courts stand ready to protect property—that is, the capitalist system. They make no efforts to disguise their intention and purpose. And will allow no such notion as freedom of the press to stand in the way.

By this time, the New York Call is perhaps somewhat disillusioned about its great "victory."

#### NOTE

The editors wish to make it clear that The Workers' Council is not the organ of the Committee on the Third International of the Socialist Party or of any Left Wing of the Socialist Party or of any organized political group.

It has given its columns freely to the Committee on the Third International, and it stands ready to do the same for any group which is attempting to spread a knowledge of the principles and policies of the Third International and which is helping to mould revolutionary Socialist opinion in this country.

#### INCREDIBLE MENSHEVIK ATROCITIES

The Revolutionary Military Council of Soviet Georgia has issued the following for publication:

"Let the whole world, let the workers of all countries know of the villainies committed by the Georgia Government, at the time of their shameful flight from Tiflis. Amongst the several thousands of workers and peasants that were seized by the completely demoralized bands of Mensheviks during their retreat, were a number of innocent women, who were subjected to torture. These tortures were carried out by these Menshevik executioners, by the orders of Rezheze: Rizsheshvili, Subagvilidze, Pagchunya, and others.

Their savagery went to such extremes that at the retreat from Katais, they brought out several Communists: Merdaleishvile, Ackloff and others, from prison, and after savagely torturing them, shot them dead. In order to hide all trace of their crime, they saturated the corpses with benzine and burned them. One of the victims of the Menshevik executioners is Comrade Luckian Tabukashvili, a warrior of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the commander of the armored car column of the late Ukraine Soviet Red Army, a bearer of the Order of the Red Flag and other distinctions.

Comrade Tabukashvili, since last autumn, has lived uninterruptedly in the house of his brother, in one of the villages in the Katais Gubernia, where he came for a rest from Soviet Russia. Comrade Tabukashvili lived in Georgia during the Jouridine Government, and he kept entirely away from politics. In the night of March 6th he was taken out, first tortured and then shot. According to comrades who were with him, he died a heroic death, worthy of a Red Warrior. The Government of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia has decided to give Comrade Tabukashvili a state funeral in Tiflis.

Long live the memory of the warrior hero of the Workers-Peasants' Armies! Long live the great Red Army, the defender of the laboring masses! Long live the World Proletarian Revolution!

Signed: Macharadze, President of the Revolutionary Military Council of Georgia. Ordzhonikidze, Member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front.



# The Detroit Convention of the Socialist Party

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Secretary, Committee for the Third International of the Socialist Party

It is now two years since the forced exodus from the Socialist Party began. During that time the party has dwindled from a powerful organization, attacked by all the organs of American capitalism and applauded by the advanced guard of America's workers, until now it is a mere skeleton, almost ignored by friend and foe alike.

Under the circumstances one would think that the officialdom of the party would be busying itself with gathering together the broken remnants, with trying to build anew to meet the problems of the present and the future. It would be the natural conclusion, after considering the party's condition, that that should be the aim and purpose of the party's annual national convention to be held this year at Detroit, Michigan, starting Saturday, June 25th.

But such is not the case. The outstanding feature of the convention agenda, just published in the "Socialist World," official monthly of the party, tells a different story. More members of the party are to be expelled, more organizations are to be shattered, if not voluntarily, then under the direction of the National Executive Committee. This is the meaning of the resolution placed on the Convention agenda as follows:

"Whereas, the Communist International is attempting to disrupt and destroy the Socialist Party of the United States as evidenced by numerous declarations to that effect, and

"Whereas, in their reply to the application of our party for affiliation they make the following appeal to their sympathizers among our membership:

"Workers: Leave the American Socialist Party. It is your enemy and ours. Already in America there is a revolutionary party, the United Communist Party, the American Section of the Communist International. These are our true comrades. Thousands of them have suffered for the revolution. This is the party of the revolutionary working class. JOIN THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY!"

"And, Whereas, those of our membership who are honestly in accord with the Communist International and who accept its conditions and dictation will, in response to the above appeal, either withdraw and join the United Communist Party or will remain in our party only for the purpose of creating dissension and attempting to destroy our organization,

"And, Whereas, it is our duty to protect our party against such treachery on the part of the unprincipled and unscrupulous members serving the interests of either the Communist International or the Department of Justice, and in either case serving the interests of the American capitalists;

"Therefore, Be It Resolved, that until such time as the Communist International has officially withdrawn the above appeal and others of a similar import, members of the Socialist Party supporting or endorsing the Communist International or advocating affiliation therewith, shall be subject to expulsion by their respective branches. And be it further

"Resolved, that the National Executive Committee be instructed to enforce this decision."

The above resolution was written by Otto Branstetter, the present national executive secretary of the party. He introduced it in his branch, the 13th Ward Branch (Chicago) and secured its acceptance there.

Instead of first submitting it to the Chicago organization for its consideration, as all the other branches had done, Branstetter put the heresy-hunting document in his pocket and took it along with him to the March meeting of the National Executive Committee, in Boston, Mass., that prepared the convention agenda for publication. He then secured its insertion in the agenda.

In a discussion of this resolution appearing in the "Chicago Socialist," Branstetter declares:

"So far as my position is concerned, I am for the adoption of the resolution. I introduced it in my ward branch and I am glad of it."

A similar resolution was originated in the 7th Ward Branch (Chicago), of which Seymour Stedman is a member. It urged that the National Executive Committee refuse to seat any delegate at the Detroit Convention who avows his intention to favor the acceptance of the terms laid down by the Third International, or to seat any delegate so instructed. It arrived after the March National Executive Committee meeting had adjourned.

It is a peculiar fact that this very important Branstetter resolution received but a line or two in the official party press service as sent from Boston. It is also peculiar that instead of publishing the convention agenda in March, following the meeting of the national executive committee, its publication was delayed more than two months until late in May.

During those two months the delegates were being elected to the Detroit Convention. Believers in the Third International were charged with trying to split the party. Candidates for delegates who declared themselves for the principles of the Russian Revolution were attacked as disrupters. And during all that time the National Executive Committee had a card up its sleeve that said: "Expel all believers in 'The Third'."

These comrades are not to be expelled for unconditional faith in the "21 Points." They are to be thrown out of the party not only for "supporting or endorsing the Communist International, but even for "advocating affiliation" with it.

Perhaps the climax of this perfidy to the world's working class is contained in the declaration that:

"It is our duty to protect our party against such treachery on the part of the unprincipled and unscrupulous members serving the interests of either the Communist International or the Department of Justice, and in either case serving the interests of the American capitalists."

What a ghastly charge, that the Third International, springing to life out of the agonies of the Russian Revolution, serves the purposes of American capitalism, through inspiring its adherents in this country. Yet that charge is written down by men who call themselves "Socialists." And it is offered for serious consideration to a Socialist Party National Convention. Its utter mendacity will defeat itself, if not in the convention, then before the party membership.



It can very plainly be seen that, through this resolution, the party's national executive committee itself becomes the staunch ally of the department of justice. It sets before itself the task of signaling out every Third Internationalist in the party. Expulsion from the party easily becomes the basis for a court prosecution and conviction, and there is then short shift from party membership to membership in some state prison or federal bastille. All with the aid of a party executive committee that has voluntarily converted itself into a Capitalist Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Bolshevism in America.

The backbone of this unique proposition, contrary to anything even suggested by any other working class political party in the world, is a paragraph from a statement, the authenticity of which has never been established, which is supposed to have been issued by the Executive Committee of the Third International, following the 1920 Convention of the Party in New York City.

During all of its nearly two years in office, the present national executive committee has never been in official communication with the officials of the Third International. The statement of affiliation rejected by the September, 1919, Party Convention, but approved by the membership, reached Moscow nearly a year later, and then only through a "visitor" to the Soviet Republic who was imprisoned for counter-revolutionary activities.

The 1920 (New York) Convention elected and instructed a delegation to go to Soviet Russia as the official representatives of the party. The members of the delegation applied for and received their passports. But they never started the journey.

The Party National Executive Committee, therefore, has seized upon an alleged condition, which it refuses to investigate, in order to find the basis for expulsion of party members supporting or endorsing or advocating affiliation with the Third International.

This means handing over large numbers of the party membership to the federal authorities. It means converting the American Socialist Party into the only 100 per cent anti-Third International Party on earth. Very apparently, the national executive committee wishes to convert the Detroit Convention into the funeral of the Socialist Party of the United States.

The present national executive committee may urge the alibi that it does not stand back of the Branstetter resolution. But Branstetter, as national secretary of the party, is the creature of the executive committee, and the circumstances under which the Branstetter resolution was inserted in the Convention Agenda, no opportunity being offered for a contrary proposition, are so extraordinary that the executive committee must accept full sponsorship for it.

This is the same national executive committee and national secretary that did not raise a finger when Victor L. Berger came out in his Milwaukee Leader urging working-class voters to cast their ballots for a non-Socialist candidate for judge at the April elections.

Neither has it said a word about the policy adopted by the Oklahoma Leader, an alleged Socialist daily, that has declared itself for "independent political action," which means support of the Nonpartisan League, the Farmer-Labor Party, or any other fly-by-night organization that may loom over the horizon.

Neither has it a word to say about the campaign to raise funds for a St. Louis daily to "champion . . . independent political action," although party members are using party forces and party prestige to build a publication that may betray the party on the morrow.

It is to the left that the Branstetter resolution turns in hunting down radicals, never to the right to watch the forces that turn traitor to the party with impunity.

## From the Italian Front

BY CLARA WOLD

*Milano, May, 1921.*

According to Serrati, if the socialist party gets by the shoals of "collaborismo" the Socialists of Italy will go to power and will take over the parliamentary government across the new election.

There is unquestionable, however, a strong section of the party holding out for collaboration with the bourgeois government—as many as half the strength of the party, perhaps. Never with Giolitti to be sure, but possibly with his successor. There is no question that the success of the Socialist Party in electing practically its old quota of parliamentarians in the face of a white reaction as bitter as that just gone through, is one of the out-standing events of recent proletarian history.

Italy's bourgeois press finds slim comfort after all in the fact that the Reds lost only 17 or 18 seats—at least twelve of these were lost because Fascisti at the point of guns prevented workingmen from voting—when the first expectation was that they would lose

at least one hundred. Rather dismally it notes that the only result of arousing Rome, the government seat, to go to the polls was to increase the Red vote. In less than two years the Socialist vote changed from 12,081 to 15,727. Add to this the Communist vote and the figures mount to 19,664, making the entire socialist vote almost double what it was in Rome in 1919.

A little more cheerfully the press comments on the apparent defeat of the Communists and the support of the less red program of the Socialists. In Torino, the strongest center of Communism, the Communist lost heavily. It must be remembered, however, that thousands of workingmen abstained from voting.

While the bourgeois press, a little gloomily, munches over the statement that Constitutionalists can rejoice in the knowledge that the Right Socialists—"the peace-abiding, unrevolutionary, sane Socialists," if you please—won in preference to the Communists, everyone else is celebrating a "notevale vittoria." Not-



able to the Fascisti because they have definitely entered parliament with a quota of their own, probably thirty members; notable to the Popolare because they have a few more seats than before as a result of refusing to go into the national bloc—103 seats in all, and notable to the Socialists because they did not lose as many seats as Giolitti had intended they should. Holding their own in a defensive, not an offensive fight, they have lost only three or four per cent. of their former strength instead of fifty or more. And this will do Giolitti no good. They return to parliament with 124 deputies to which one must add the 15 Communist deputies to make a proper comparison with the Socialist strength of 156 of the last parliament.

And so everyone rejoices. Everyone but Giolitti. To him has gone entire defeat. On that point all Italy agrees. He has neither won the support he had hoped to get, nor has he succeeded in spanking the Socialist Party.

With amazing foresight Mr. Giolitti called this election at what was believed by everyone to be the most inopportune time for Socialists. Even the Socialists believed him. Only Serrati believed that to abstain from the election would be to throw victory into the hands of the Constitutionalist enemy and to throw greater strength to the Communists. With his usual fox-like keenness, Giolitti saw possible victory for himself in the camps of his most bitter enemies. He called on all factions that had opposed him or half-heartedly supported him to form a national bloc—not to help Giolitti, but to save "la patria", and to defeat Socialism, the recalcitrant child that stubbornly refused to play with the Government.

A free hand was given the Fascisti to go through the country with "propaganda." Chambers of Labor were destroyed, not occasionally, but every day. Homes of peasants were burned down. Socialists and Communists alike were killed. Scores of co-operative stores were sacked. The workers on their part fought back with equal hatred and bitterness. They were met by Royal Guards and Carabinieri. Arms were in the hands of the Government. Socialists who had preached direct action in the past suddenly cried out against this method of attack and, as the bourgeois press put it, clothed themselves in sheep's skins. Only the Communists continued to declare that direct action belonged in the program and must be met with direct action, thereby winning for themselves the Socialists' epithet of "Red Fascisti."

The success of the Fascisti in seeming to drive Socialist power out of certain communities was at first welcomed. Two hundred Socialist municipal councils resigned under Fascisti pressure. But when shopkeepers, Popolare and even Republicans, began to feel the mad frenzy of Fascisti, the country was alarmed. Mr. Giolitti commanded that all such disorders must cease. If the Government ever tried to end the outrages it was utterly impotent to do so, for the proclamation was followed with as many killings and burnings as at any other time. The country became the battleground for white guards and infuriated Socialists.

The days before the election, when everyone was crying for sanity, the press was filled with stories of Fascisti fights. At Torino, while a Socialist and

Communist were arguing someone in the crowd shouted "Viva Russia." The usual shot was fired and one hundred more shots followed. Four were wounded, all of them workers, and one was killed.

At Regina, near Florence, the Socialist headquarters were invaded and all papers and the electoral lists burned.

At Viareggio the ballots of the Communists were burned and the printers were warned not to reprint them.

At Ferrara the printing office at which the Socialist weekly of the community is printed was smashed.

At Padua, where the finest printing offices in the country were established, an office that employed 80 workers and printed besides the Socialist literature the manifestos of all other parties including the bloc, the entire establishment was wrecked.

At Naples Fascisti broke up a meeting at which Degni, a Popolare, spoke. A terrific battle followed with many wounded.

At Biella the Fascisti killed a Socialist assessor who had been reported as having said derogatory things about the Fascisti. He was called from his home and shot down. When his brother rushed to help him, he, too, was shot and died later.

At Trieste Fascisti killed a young Socialist who had made derogatory remarks about Fascisti on May Day.

At Teramo the Chamber of Labor was flooded with benzine and burned.

At Fermo, Macerata, Jesi and Cupramarittima the Socialist headquarters were invaded and all literature burned.

And so the list runs on for one day.

With the election over the fighting continues. In Milano two Royal Guards who patrolled a workmen's quarter were captured by workers whose parade had been broken up. They took the guns from the Guards, killed one and shot the other. On the same day twenty Chambers of Labor were destroyed by Fascisti in other parts of Italy. Within two days, 30 Fascisti had been killed and over a hundred wounded.

The Italian press which at first noted the calm of election day now carries column after column of outrages committed by one side or the other. Night after night the cavalry appear on the streets of Milano. They ride up and down, galloping through every group that reaches twenty or so in number. Milan gathers in the cheap sidewalk cafés and the expensive one to drink coffee peacefully. Conversation runs along as usual. Suddenly there is heard the unmistakable clatter of horses' hoofs. Shutters roll clattering over windows. Chairs are hurriedly pushed aside and a stampede for the inside of the cafe begins. No one intends to get shot.

All day long Carabinieri file through the streets breaking up the tiniest beginnings of crowds. That is how quietly Italy is taking the election.

And out in the country, where it is impossible to patrol the land, there the revenge goes on. Fascisti drive through in camions every day. Peasants lie in ambush behind the hedges and fire on them. The losses in the Fascisti ranks since the election



grow daily. It is true that the peasants are taking their revenge on the Fascisti; but it is also to be noted that when the Fascisti are killed, they are away from their own towns. They die as invaders. It is also true that when Socialists are killed it is in or near their own homes, or their own headquarters.

The Socialist papers call upon their followers to prepare for the more bitter struggles that will come to them. They remind the workers that the Fascisti will begin an even greater revenge in their defeat. The Trieste Fascisti journal printed the following call just previous to the election: "In the law or against the law, if we don't win May 15, woe to the victors."

And on April 17 a Fascisti weekly published the following:

#### Invocation

We invoke the gallows,  
Saintly and great,  
Just.

May it be of strong wood of Italian pine.  
May the cord be of our hemp, long and very strong.  
It we would plant upon our vast piazzas.  
It we would give plenty of food for its hunger . . .

Giolitti went to the country with the cry that the Chamber did not represent the temper of the country. He declared that he could do nothing with parliament as it was. He faces after this election practically the same parliament, the Popolare

a little stronger and thoroughly against him; the Fascisti more bitter than ever about Fiume; a handful of Germans and Slavs, thoroughly anti-Italian; the Socialists stronger for having defeated him in the election; and the great constitutionalist bloc that was to be so helpful actually made up of a diversity of liberal democrats, radicals, reformists, anti-administration Nittians, nationalists and Fascisti, a dubious 278 including the Fascisti, as against 124 Socialists, 15 Communists, 103 Popolare, and 8 Germans and Slavs.

He faces a Chamber with Mussolini and twenty-nine other Fascisti on the one side who will go to Rome after still further assaults on the Socialists, and Turati and Modigliani of the Socialists on the other, not to mention Bombacci and Graziadei and other Communists. His one hope will be to collaborate with the Socialists, but will the Socialists collaborate with Giolitti? The leaders say emphatically that they will not.

The press already predicts that Giolitti must resign in the fall. His successor will face then practically the same situation. Whether the Socialists will collaborate with him is another question.

Here is where the Communists say the split in the Socialist party will come. Serrati is against collaboration with the government as he was before. Certainly the right-wing Socialists are for collaboration. Whether or not they have the controlling power in the party will be decided at the next Socialist conference which will be held in July or August.

## The Amalgamated Beats the Wolf

By SOLON DE LEON

The wolf has been beaten at a quarrel of his own choosing. On June 2 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America signed a working agreement which puts the seal of failure on the attempt of the anti-union element among the New York clothing manufacturers to destroy the workers' organization by fair means or foul, for any reason or no reason. For six months the battle raged. Now is the winter of the clothing workers' worst conflict made glorious summer by this sun of victory.

By the terms of the settlement:

1. The union shop is maintained.
2. The joint arbitration and adjustment machinery temporarily destroyed by the break is to be restored.
3. Group or shop standards of production are to be established jointly by representatives of the workers and of the employers.
4. Wage reductions, not exceeding 15 per cent, are to be arranged by a joint committee representing both sides, cutters' wages, for the most part, not being affected.
5. Hours of work stand as they were, at forty-four a week.

Contrast these terms with the ultimatum insolently presented by the manufacturers last December:

1. Individual bargaining.
2. Piece work.
3. Unlimited power to hire and fire.
4. Uncontrolled wage cuts.
5. Individual standards of production for remaining week-workers.

And "Be it further resolved," read a motion adopted by the manufacturers' council of war, which got into the union's hands by mistake, "that in the event the association fails to receive an affirmative reply within the time fixed, then the association shall put into effect the proposal aforesaid."

In other words, "Destroy yourselves, or we will do it for you."

Even in the ultimatum, however, the demand for the annihilation of the union was not made outspokenly. Still less outspokenly was it made at the beginning of the trouble. Easy and gradual was the descent to Hades.

First a certain concern refused to send any one to present its side of a case pending before the impartial chairman, who was hired jointly by both sides to settle minor disputes arising under the agreement. Next, manufacturers in increasing number began to put in requests for wage and other adjustments, alleging that the existing union



regulations were interfering with efficiency in the industry. Then joint conferences which were well on the way to working out these adjustments were mysteriously deadlocked. A little while later the peacefully inclined labor manager for the employers' association was forced to resign, and a notorious union-fighting attorney was retained, after denials, as advisor. On the heels of that came the ultimatum already described. Only after this covert edict to commit hari-kari was hurled back in the employers' teeth by unanimous mass meetings in three cities, and the lockout of union members had actually begun, did the belligerent employers come out in the open with what they really wanted. In the name of one of their number they brought suit for a permanent injunction against picketing, for half a million dollars' damages, and—for the dissolution of the union. The wolf had ceased to discuss the alleged muddying of the waters. He now admitted his desire to destroy the lamb.

Altogether fifteen suits for damages aggregating \$2,400,000 were entered against the Amalgamated. Two suits asked for its dissolution. More than a dozen and a half injunctions were demanded, and some of them were granted. The granting of one of these restraining orders was made the occasion by the issuing judge, Justice Van Sicken, of his now famous confession with regard to the courts:

"They must stand as the representatives of capital, of captains of industry, devoted to the principle of individual initiative—protect property and persons from violation and destruction; strongly opposed to all schemes for the nationalization of industry, and yet save labor from oppression."

A few shops attempted to operate with non-union labor, but met with dismal failure. They gradually closed down, sometimes assisted by wholesale walkouts of their strike-breakers, for even they could not stomach the conditions. Strong-arm guards were advertised for and hired in large quantities, and left their mark on many a picket. Charges of graft were hurled at the union and its officers, and a State investigation was darkly hinted at. But when the union welcomed the suggestion, and volunteered to put the probers on the trail of some good "dope" on the manufacturers, the charges died like mildew in the sun.

Work was of course sent out of town. The very men who in New York were denouncing the Amalgamated for "Sovietism" sought to get coats and pants made in Chicago on the plea that the garments were for Soviet Russia. Wherever workers found that they were tricked into making up goods for the union-fighting employers of the metropolis, they refused to continue. In Philadelphia this refusal was joined in by 6,000 men and women, and netted the Amalgamated a thousand new members.

The New York lockout employers tried to carry the war into Africa by egging the manufacturers in other cities to join the anti-union movement. In Boston they succeeded, and partly in Baltimore. In every other large clothing center the factory managers who had agreements with the union held to them. The net result of the New York manufacturers' out-of-town campaign was to isolate them

from the national body of their industry. The union fighters tried to launch a United States Senatorial investigating committee against the union, the first time a labor organization was ever so honored. As in the earlier New York talk of a probe, they lost heart for the enterprise when the resolution was broadened to include the manufacturers and retailers as well. As if it were providentially timed to make up for the deficiency, the New York Lusk committee sprung its report on radical activities, pillorying the Amalgamated as one of nine great unions which were dangerous to American life, principally, it seemed, because they were not "armed bands of revolutionaries," but only industrial unionists.

On its side the union was equally active. Picketing demonstrations including 3,000 workers were held. Halls were hired where the membership assembled daily for addresses, entertainments, and to plan their defensive campaign. A large legal department was built up to meet the employers' thrusts. An international lockout resistance fund of \$1,000,000, the largest ever known in trade union history, was called for, and in four months it went more than 50 per cent "over the top." Six co-operative stores were opened for the distribution of groceries to the most needy and for their sale at reduced rates to those who could pay. The Union Health Center of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union initiated a comprehensive system of medical assistance to locked out workers and their families. Many a lockout baby owes his life today to the Baltimore girls who, although on slack time themselves, began an emergency milk fund and spent their spare minutes making layettes. New ground was broken in American labor conflicts by bringing a counter-suit against the employers to prevent assault, defamation, and discrimination against union members, and for \$1,000,000 damages. In every way possible the union built up its morale and with unerring generalship countered the moves of the enemy.

Morale and generalship won. The lockout employers' assaulting column lies shattered. Its would-be union-devouring leader and his legal advisors have deserted the cohorts they led into unwilling battle, and are nursing their injured ambitions in wrathful silence. Their erstwhile followers have lost at least \$10,000,000 worth of business, and are late in opening their fall season. The union, on the other hand, has gained every point it fought for. It keeps its organization, it keeps its conditions, it keeps the right to a voice in the management of industry. It may have spent \$2,000,000 in the struggle, but it has reaped rich returns in growth of union spirit, in solidarity, and in the consciousness of unconquerable strength.

The real issue behind the fight was the effort to destroy the Amalgamated, in New York by all means, throughout the country if possible. That this was the motive behind the opening of hostilities is shown by the gradual development of the employers' demands, the attempts to drag the rest of the country into the fight, and the culminating suit for the disbanding of the union. It is shown also by



the statements of the presidents of both the New York and the Boston clothing manufacturers' associations, that they were not bearing the expenses of the quarrel, but were receiving help from outside. The drive against the Amalgamated is thus linked up with the general "open shop" movement throughout the nation. That issue has been settled in favor of the union.

To many employers, labor unions are like Indians to many pioneers—there are no good ones but dead ones. In the campaign to convert live unions into dead ones, however, it is sometimes convenient to draw distinctions in badness, as it no doubt helped to call a prospective Indian victim a horse-thief. So in this struggle the employers sought to strengthen their assault on the Amalgamated with charges of "Bolshevism," "Sovietism," "revolution," and what not, as distinguished from the nice, orderly American Federation of Labor. The files of the union's official papers, the speeches of its leaders, were fine-combed for evidence of its subversive character. Every mention of the word "revolution" was dragged out of its setting and strung into a brief. If the union had been making pinwheels instead of clothes, there would not have been enough "revolution" in its literature to please its assailants.

The bright particular jewel in their charges was a clause in the preamble to the union constitution which said:

"The industrial and inter-industrial organization, built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class-consciousness, will put the organized working class in control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

This clause, according to the union-fighting employers and their legal adjutants, made the Amalgamated clearly a conspiracy against the United States government, the capitalist system, and the Holy Trinity. Such a union they would never negotiate with. It would have to be executed—or at least deported.

That issue also has been settled in favor of the union. "We do not presume to tell the employers how to write their constitution, and we shall not allow them to dictate to us how to write ours," the union leaders said. The stern abitrament of facts has vindicated their stand. The employers have now signed a year's agreement with that very union, with its preamble unchanged. Vindication has also come from the bench. Justice Bijur of the New York Supreme Court upheld the disputed clause as perfectly proper. Even if it did mean that the clothing workers were going to come into the possession of the clothing factories, he said, "there is still absent any statement or implication that this is to be accomplished by forcible or other unlawful means." For the present, at least, aspiration toward and preparation for working-class ownership and control of industry remain legal.

True to form, true to their policy of protecting the vested interests of their place-holders and of the employers in preference to those of progressive elements in the ranks of toil, the American Federation of Labor and some of its constituent branches

sought in various ways to cripple the Amalgamated in its hour of trial. At the height of the struggle Gompers editorially declared in the "American Federationist" that the Amalgamated had "betrayed the labor movement of America." In Louisville, Montreal, and Boston the insignificant but "regular" United Garment Workers of America deliberately signed contracts with employers who had locked out their Amalgamated workers. The Louisville Trades and Labor Council endorsed the United against the Amalgamated, and even went so far as to expel a delegate from the boilermakers who denounced the act as imperialistic and un-American. In Montreal the manager of a lockout shop openly went to the city central labor council and bespoke and received their approval of his taking in the United to fight the real union in the industry. The Boston Central Labor Union refused to assist the Amalgamated in its struggle. With characteristic vindictiveness these elements in the official labor movement allowed and furthered a drive which might end by overwhelming them, hoping only thereby to achieve the ruin of a body too advanced and too independent to remain in the reactionary harness. It speaks well for the growing manhood of American labor that certain unions, such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Fancy Leather Goods Workers, the milliners, the machinists, Alexander Howat's Kansas district of miners, and individual progressive locals in Boston and Los Angeles, broke through the embargo and did what they could. Notable assistance was given by the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, also an independent organization.

An interesting chapter of the conflict was written in mud on their own nighties by the Old Ladies of the Brass Check, the capitalist newspapers. While some of the journals were fair or even favorable to the locked out workers, the prevailing spirit was one of inveterate hostility. Every occasion was seized to decry and attack the union people, and when occasions did not exist they were manufactured. Thus a reference of President Hilman's to the "war department" of the union, meaning the picketing and other defense committees, was heralded broadcast as a blood-thirsty threat to the federal Department of War not to intervene in the lock-out "or industrial warfare of the fiercest kind will follow." Before 19,000 members of the union, no one knows how many policemen, and an official stenographer, Secretary Schlossberg declared that the employer "may determine for himself where his factory is to be," but that the workers would not permit him to determine for them how long they should work, or for how much, or whether they might form a union. Yet this statement was twisted into an assertion that the union was "not going to permit the employer to determine where his factory is going to be." A correction of the misquotation was sent to the New York "Times," which published it obscurely. Yet a week after the retraction was printed, the "Times" repeated the charge in an editorial.

That is to say, the capitalist press is the capitalist press.

The "public" played a negligible part in the fight.



No disinterested ultimate consumer stopped consuming sheets and pillow-cases to go down on the picket lines at six o'clock of a frosty morning. Few of them stopped consuming anything sufficiently to send a dollar or two to the lockout resistance fund. Of the \$1,500,000 raised by the union, less than \$100,000 came from outside its own ranks, and most of that was donated by other labor organizations. The battle was fought and won by the organized might and ability of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers themselves.

That they were able to win in the teeth of all obstacles, after a slack spell nearly as long as the lockout had drained their resources and their energies, is one of the outstanding miracles of the reconstruction period. But like most miracles—that are true—it has a human source. That source is the spirit generated in a mass of men and women by the

consciousness of intelligent progress toward a supreme goal.

The Amalgamated is not a group of ignorant, listless victims of the present system, whose highest thought is to shelter themselves in makeshift fashion against its worst abuses, and let the rest of the world go hang. It is a band of stalwarts who know the reason of their present subjugation, who have achieved a knowledge of their rights and powers as workers, and whose faces are set resolutely toward a new social order. The Amalgamated victory is a victory for sound and steady education for a purpose big enough to stir the sympathies and enlist the idealism of the mass. "The industry is ours" may not be literally true for the clothing workers today. But the Amalgamated won against every odds because it is consistently and ably building toward the day when it shall be.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

### Polish Social Patriots Support Upper Silesian Adventure

The Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) of Cracow held a demonstration in favor of the insurrection in Upper Silesia and called upon the government to give open military assistance to the Polish insurgents. The Warsaw section of the same "Socialist" party even issued an appeal to the workers of the Entente countries to support the Korfanty adventure in the name of "self-determination" of the Polish people in Upper Silesia.

The P. P. S. was always a nationalist party, but since the establishment of Poland as an outpost of Allied imperialism, it has sanctioned all the persecutions of the revolutionary labor organizations in Poland and has blessed the Polish troops under the leadership of General Pilsudski, an "honored" member of the party, in their raids upon Soviet Russia. It is interesting to note that the Cracow organization was quite insistent that the party withdraw from the defunct Second International and affiliate with the "reconstructed" 2½ Vienna International. The International presided over by MacDonald, Vandervelde, Troelstra, Renaudel and Thomas was not considered sufficiently revolutionary even by this jingo and Jew-baiting Socialist organization. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

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### Jewish "Bund" Merges with Russian Communist Party

The Jewish Social-Democratic organization in Russia, better known under the name of *Bund*, has ceased to exist as an independent national party. A national conference of the organization decided by a vote of 47 to 23 to merge with the Russian Communist party. The minority which believed there was still need for the Bund to continue its independent existence announced that it would abide by the decision of the majority.

The Bund was founded prior to the organization of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, the forerunner of the present Communist Party. As an integral part of the Russian Socialist movement it was at the forefront of the revolution for a generation. It has called the Jewish workers to revolutionary deeds and has instilled in them the spirit of class-consciousness and internationalism. Although it realized the presence of certain problems with which Jewish workers had to deal as Jews, the Bund taught their workers to consider themselves as a part of the working class of Russia and called upon them to struggle for their rights as an oppressed nationality and as workers together with the workers of other nationalities in Russia. Thus, besides training the Jewish workers for revolutionary activity, it devoted a great deal of energy to combat the influence of the various nationalist groups whether they were bourgeois Zionists, or Territorialists, Poalei-Zionists, etc., with Socialist leanings.

When the glorious history of the Socialist and Labor movement of Russia will be written, the achievements of the Bund will be accorded a place of honor in the annals of the Russian Revolution.

### Echoes of the Paul Levi Incident

The expulsion of Paul Levi from the German United Communist Party for the publication of the now famous pamphlet in which the central committee of the party was accused as the instigator of the abortive March uprising, has created a lively discussion in the Communist parties of other countries. The central committees of the Austrian, Swiss and Checho-Slovak (German) Communist parties expressed their solidarity with the action of the central committee of the German party, and editor Strasser of the Vienna *Rote Fahne* and the editor of the Checho-Slovak Communist organ were removed from their positions for approving Levi's stand. The executive committee of the Third International has agreed with the German party that Levi's action was a gross breach of party discipline. The matter will be taken up at the present congress of the International in connection with the general Italian and German problems which the executive committee has placed on the agenda of the congress.

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### Red Trade Union International Gains Adherents

As the first congress called by the International Council of Socialist trade and industrial unions draws nearer, large labor bodies are deciding to send delegates and to affiliate with the new international labor federation. The congress of the South African Federation of Labor has recently decided to join the new body and to be represented at the congress which opens July first at Moscow. Similar action was taken by the federation of the Luxemburg trade unions and the Scottish Trade Union Congress held April 22 voted 55 to 50 to join Moscow. The Scottish congress represented 560,000 organized workers who are considered the radical wing in the British labor movement.

On May 7 a conference of British labor unions was held in London with 354 delegates in attendance. Tom Mann, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, which includes all organized workers in the metal and machine trades, presided, and it was voted to urge upon the British labor movement to affiliate with the Labor International formed at Moscow.

In France the matter of affiliation with the new International is becoming an important issue. The future of the Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) depends upon the action which various sections of the labor movement are taking on this question. The resignation of Leon Jouhaux, the Gompers of France, as secretary of the Federation is predicted in the radical labor press. The Paris central federation of trade unions voted to send delegates to Moscow by a vote of 128 to 4 of the delegates present, with 12 abstentions. Labor federations of other departments are taking similar action. The National Union of Postal and Telegraph Workers voted at a convention by 11,712 against 1,116 and the Railway Workers by a vote of 55,140 to 53,667 to join the new Labor International. The National Metal Workers' Union, it is reported, has also voted in favor of leaving the conservative Amsterdam Trade Union International.



# Program Suggestions for the Socialist Party Convention

By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

The revolutionary movement in the United States is not only weaker than that of any other country, but it is also more hopelessly divided. A confusing number of groups appeal for the support of the comparatively few workers in America who are at all class conscious.

There is first the Socialist Labor Party, small but ever persistent. The possibilities of its becoming an important factor in the revolutionary movement are indeed remote. At the same time it refuses to acknowledge its willingness to join with all the revolutionary forces under one single banner, that of the Third International because it has not adopted in toto the S. L. P. attitude towards trade unionism, the I. W. W. and political action.

The various Communist parties in America after spending two years trying to unite have finally succeeded in doing so. In the meantime they have been more occupied in internal squabbles than in the effort to reach the American people. While this has undoubtedly militated against their success, it is extremely doubtful whether there are any present prospects of their being able to reach wide masses of the American workers, due to their underground form of organization and their extreme military discipline. A movement cannot, at present, enlist the support of the American working class unless it does so in the open.

The Socialist Party as a result of its recent policies stands discredited in the eyes of the workers. The membership has again and again expressed its desire to align itself with the revolutionary elements in the International Socialist movement but the officials in the party have consistently prevented the party from joining the Third International. The surrender of Socialist principles at Albany, and at the May 1920 convention definitely unfitted it for leadership. Only a thorough overhauling, only a complete scrapping of both leaders and program, can regain for the Socialist Party the position it held in the United States before the war.

Two years ago there were 110,000 members in the Socialist Party. There are probably less than 25,000 members in the Socialist and Communist parties combined. While a great many have left the Socialist Party because of utter dissatisfaction with its position, the loss of membership in the ranks of the Communists has also been very heavy. There are undoubtedly many thousands of comrades throughout the country, old as well as new, who are anxious to align themselves with the parties in the ranks of the Third International; who are anxious to join an organization which will propagate the principles of revolutionary socialism but who do not feel that the newly united Communist Party, any more than the Socialist Party, is the medium through which they can work, or is the agency, which is fitted because of program and leadership to form the advance guard of the working class.

In view of the existing conditions, the following suggestions are submitted for the consideration of the

members of the Socialist Party as a basis for a program. Only such a program can save the party from complete disintegration and at the same time form the basis upon which all the revolutionary elements of the country would be able to combine:

1. The Socialist Party must join the Third International and take its place with the rest of the revolutionary Socialist and Communist parties of the world.

There is no valid reason for a party, claiming to be revolutionary, to refuse to join the only International which is working for the actual establishment of Communism. All parties which are sincerely working for such an aim, for the creation of a League of Soviet republics, will not stay outside of the ranks because of minor differences as to tactics or form of organization within the International.

There can be no real International unless power, and authority is vested in the hands of its executive committee. There can be no real International which allows each national group to pursue any tactics it chooses. Matters of policy and tactics must be coordinated. Each national group will naturally be called upon to carry out such policies in the light of the prevailing historic and social conditions. It is this which the Third International is attempting to do.

2. The form of organization must provide for the concentration of power and authority within the party in the hands of the executive committee, subject to control by the membership. The form of organization should likewise provide for any possible emergencies which may arise through imperialist wars or class struggles which may either threaten the existence of the party or interfere with its functioning.
3. The party executive should have complete control of the press and the activities of all elected officials, with the power of expelling officials who fail in their duty to the party and the workers.
4. The party must completely revise its program and principles in the spirit of the decisions of the Third International.

It should make clear to the workers the nature of the existing Bourgeois Dictatorship as contained in the American Constitution and as practised by the Government in every industrial struggle when the armed forces are used to crush the workers. It should point out, for example, the unlimited power placed in the hands of the Supreme Court and in the hands of the President, and how it has been used to crush the independence of small nations, as in Santa Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua. It should expose the false notion that there can be any such thing as free speech, or free press, or any liberty or democracy or freedom so long as the wealth and industries of the country as well as the schools, the press, the meeting places, the churches, etc. are in the hands of the capitalist forces. It should emphasize the fact that political power without economic power is meaningless and fundamentally of little value.

It should explain the necessity of establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, that is the concentration of power in the hands of the workers during the period of the inevitable breakdown of capitalism, which faces every nation. It should point out that only the working class, of all the social classes at such a



time will have the power to save society from utter destruction, by abolishing every trace of capitalist exploitation and laying the foundation for a Socialist society; that while such a program cannot be carried out unless the majority approve of it, the party must be ready to act when it has the masses with it. The proletariat as the new ruling class must be prepared to safeguard the new Socialist order and be ready to crush all opposition. Only in this way can be realized the ideal of democracy, a free people in a free land, living by free labor.

5. The party must engage in all political campaigns, in order to utilize them for the purpose of carrying its message to the workers. Its elected officials must not however use their positions in the legislative chambers for the purpose of securing the passage of reforms. If they are numerically insignificant they will not be able to do more than merely introduce them; if they are numerically powerful, they will not waste time passing reform bills. The elected officials should use their position rather as forums for Socialist propaganda.
6. The Party must make clear to the workers that in the struggle for the abolition of the wage system, the economic organizations of the workers are a most important factor, and that to be most effective, labor must be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle; must aim at the complete abolition of the capitalist system; must work for the re-organization of labor along industrial and class lines to meet with equal force the ever extending inter-industrial forces of capitalism, and that it must be aggressive in its tactics and methods.

In spite of the existing confusion and the discord in the ranks of the Socialist and Communist parties in America, large sections of the workers in America are awaiting the organization of a movement which will answer their needs. The war, the "liquidation of labor" following the war and the ever-increasing unemployment have helped materially to disillusion them as to the nature of American "freedom" and "democracy." Many workers have learned the lesson of the class struggle. They have been and are face to face with it. They are ready to enlist in the ranks of the revolution. They are ready to serve in the cause of Socialism. Likewise thousands of comrades scattered throughout the country who were at one time members either of the Socialist party or of the Communist parties are anxiously awaiting the opportunity to get into the movement once more.

The time is ripe for laying the foundation of a truly revolutionary movement in the United States. The programs of none of the existing groups or parties can fill the need of the hour. The members of the Socialist Party have it in their power to decide whether the Socialist Party shall be used as the medium for the inauguration of such a movement in the United States—a movement which will unite all the truly revolutionary elements in the country.

The alternative facing the Socialist Party is decay and death. Which shall it be?

## A "Formula" for Social Revolution

By J. B. SALUTSKY

Comrade Isaac A. Hourwich is worried beyond measure over the fact that practically nowhere, not even in the most industrial countries, do the proletarians form the majority of the population in the cities and villages. Here are some of the data submitted by our comrade.

In the United States, in 1900, the proletariat, including hired farm laborers, made up 41.2 per cent of the total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations. The industrial wage earners alone for the same year composed only 34 per cent of the same category.

The figures for 1910 show an increase of the proletariat in the ratio of over 10 per cent. The census of 1910 gives the industrial wage-earners 38.2 per cent and the whole proletariat of both city and farm—45.6 per cent of the total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations. France, as Comrade Hourwich tells us in the last issue of *The Workers' Council*, is even less proletarianized. There, Hourwich calculates, the agricultural wage-earners, together with the industrial proletariat, represent about 40 per cent of all breadwinners. The census of 1911 is the basis for the above. The industrial proletarians alone represented 26 per cent of the active population.

There are no available figures for 1920 as yet. But Comrade Hourwich gives an approximate estimate of what these figures may be, basing his calculations on the established and certain ratio of increase of the proletariat as compared with the other groups of the active population. He states:

"From 1900 to 1910 the relative number of the proletariat of the United States increased by 10.7 per cent. If the same ratio be applied to France, its proletariat cannot represent to-day more than 45 per cent of all adult males, which is still short of a majority."

Applying the same method of calculation to the United States for the period of 1911 to 1920, we find that the proletariat of the United States will represent in 1920 50.5 per cent of the total sum of breadwinners, and that it will have gone "over the top." In order to meet Comrade Hourwich and his argument we shall, however, ignore the one-half of 1 per cent and we shall take it that the wage-earners represented in 1920 just one-half of the active population, a sort of a political "No Man's Land" sui generis.

Now, what worries our comrade in view of these statistical data, he states in a recent issue of the *Socialist Review*, and to that statement the article in *The Workers' Council* supplies but further argument. Says Comrade Hourwich:

"The proletariat is not yet a majority in this highly developed industrial country. That means that the democratic political machinery which is operated upon the principle of majority rule furnishes to the proletariat no means to enact Socialism. What, then, is to be done?"

Pointing to the solutions of the problem offered respectively by the Syndicalists, the Communists and the moderate or reformistic Socialists (German majoritaire and the Milwaukee branch in the United States), Hourwich concludes:

"One can argue for and against every one of these three policies. But to cling to the old tactics, which were



built upon the erroneous assumption that the proletariat is a large majority, means to condemn the American Socialist movement to remain a perfectionist sect."

The Syndicalists reject the political method. They hold to the view that the proletariat has already the economic power to eliminate capitalism from industry. So they tried to work in Italy but they failed, and Comrade Hourwich does not honor the Syndicalists' view.

Again the Communist position of bringing about Socialism by the forces of the proletariat alone through a dictatorship of the proletarian minority, does not suit our friend any more than the Syndicalist panacea.

What remains, then, is either of two courses. One is the German majority mode of procedure—of coalition with the bourgeois parties—typified in the United States by the Milwaukee policy of seeking an alliance with the Farmers' Nonpartisan League (capitalistic in its own politics) and the Farmer-Labor Party (non-existent in politics, non-socialistic in principle and opportunist to the core). The alternative is the present policy of the Socialist Party, that is, neither for dictatorship by a proletarian minority nor for a combination, alliance, or fusion with other political groups, but just waiting "with folded arms" until the working class will become the majority.

Comrade Hourwich has no patience with this policy of "a perfectionist sect," as he calls it. What, then, does he propose? The Milwaukee method? An alliance with anti-Socialists for the purpose of bringing about Socialism? Comrade Hourwich is a better logician than that. Yet he offers no way out. Why?

\* \* \*

Were Comrade Hourwich of the mental make-up of most of the "regular" Socialist Partyites his attitude toward majority and minority could be easily discerned. "Why, the constitution prescribes 'majority rule'." So claim our constitutionally constituted good Socialist comrades. "Won't you please wait until we are the actual majority? In fact wait until we attain an actual majority of votes. We are not law-breakers!" But Hourwich knows that the great American "democratic political machinery which is operated upon the principles of majority rule" was never brought about by a majority of the people. Hourwich knows American history. Furthermore, our "democratic political machinery" never was operated or controlled by the expression of the will of the majority. Hourwich knows this too well. It is the minority that always ruled. At best the minority claimed that it was speaking the will of the majority. Ordinarily, that classical definition of government by the Irishwoman is to the point: "Them few gentlemen at Washington sees what is best for themselves and do it for the people." Hourwich knows more about the essence of government than his statistically corroborated fears would betray. He knows that no actual majority ever ruled this boss-made world and none ever will rule if our glorious "democratic political machinery" is to prevail. Even our political babes,

the liberals, have conceded it. Why, then, does Hourwich scare us with that majority ghost?

And then . . . The proletariat was not a majority in 1920. It was only 50 per cent. But the Hourwich statistics would give the proletariat in the United States 55 per cent in 1930. In fact, at this writing, if the Hourwich statistics operate regularly, and presumably they do, the proletariat is well-nigh above 51 per cent of the gainfully engaged population. Furthermore, in his calculations of the numbers of the agricultural and industrial proletariat, Comrade Hourwich eliminates the class of servants, somewhere between 5 and 6 per cent, and the "professional persons," of whom a goodly half, another 3 per cent, could be safely placed in the proletariat column. Or, is there any good reason why a civil engineer working for the Interborough, or a draftsman, or a teacher in the New York City School system, or even a "servant" could not be induced to accept Socialism sooner than or as soon as a railroad clerk?

If the industrialization and proletarianization of the people of the United States should proceed at the same ratio as Hourwich establishes, to wit 10.7 per cent for a period of ten years, then in 1930 we shall have a pretty good working majority of proletarians to usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth. And nine years is by no means too long to wait for it. But isn't there something to be said about the Socialist education of the masses? Will Comrade Hourwich ignore this side of the problem? Hourwich establishes the rate of increase for the proletariat to be 10.7 per cent in 10 years. The ratio of increase of the Socialist sentiment for the whole of the United States, as evidenced by the Socialist Party vote, hardly justifies even so much optimism. Yet, without being unduly sanguine, we may accept, with a fair degree of accuracy, that we are likely to attain a majority vote, by due process of law, that is—considering the stealing of our votes, elimination of our candidates by imposing upon them long prison terms, etc.—some time between 1998 and 2084. Encouraging as such an outlook may be, it is on the whole too far off to be taken into account for any practical purpose.

\* \* \*

Hourwich Repudiates Syndicalism. The idea of dictatorship of a proletarian minority is not to his liking either. The Socialist theory of inactivity as practised by the American Socialist Party he discards as "perfectionist sect" stuff. He does not accept the Milwaukee Socialist Party plan of trading Socialism either. What, then, does he propose? Nothing so far but discussion. But how does it happen that Hourwich of all should turn to be fruitless at an attempt to solve this all-important problem? Hourwich knows thoroughly, as few do in the United States, the working of our political machinery of democracy. He has at his finger tips the industrial development of our country. And he holds no illusions as to the value of our common carriers of political democracy, such as the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, the Farmer-Labor Party, our Liberals, Radicals, Prohibitionists, et tutti quanti. If he thought so he would not fear to state openly that



he has no faith at all in the future of Socialism in the United States. But he does not say so. He evidently believes the Co-operative Commonwealth to be no fancy or idle dream. Yet he advises no way out and knows none. Why?

Because he has allowed himself to be victimized by purely formal logic. He, a statistician and a logician of no mean rank, has advanced his own formula of social revolution. Mathematically ex-

pressed it is  $\frac{N}{2} + 1$ , N being the sum total of per-

sons engaged in gainful occupations. The proletariat is doomed to hopelessness, except in a statis-

tical sense, when it is less than  $\frac{N}{2}$ . Watchful wait-

ing is its lot until it reaches, in the course of human events, the state of Nirvana, that being  $\frac{N}{2}$ . It is

only with its reaching  $\frac{N}{2} + 1$ , that the prospects of

the Social Revolution brighten. Which shows that application of formal logic to a problem of complex reality leads ad absurdum.

#### APPEAL OF CHINESE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS TO RUSSIAN WORKERS

The representatives of the Chinese social organizations who have recently arrived in Moscow, have addressed an appeal to the Russian workers, in which, among other things, it is stated:

"We are happy to have the opportunity of visiting Moscow, the capital of the First Proletarian Republic.

"We know that the great teacher of Socialism, Karl Marx, whose teachings you are following in your Socialist construction, has pointed out for us the path to the creation of proletarian culture and human civilization. We also know that you, the Russian proletariat, are the first to apply the grand ideas of the great master to life and that you are the first to carry them out for the good of the nations of all the world. The content of your social order and the general course of your economics and politics are international in their essence and significance. Your government has no aggressive intention in relation to other nations, and it is willing to fight for the liberation of the oppressed of all the world.

"We have passed the whole territory of Russia from the Far East on our way to Moscow and became acquainted with the actual position of the Russian people and we found out that all hostile rumors and 'information,' which is spread about you in the capitalist countries, are absolutely false and baseless.

"We want the Chinese people to cease to be a victim of the deception and false information on the state of Russian affairs.

"By sending the Chinese people true information about the actual state of the Russian people, we hope to deepen and strengthen, every day and hour, the mutual understanding between the two friendly nations.

"Ney-Sun-Hua (Correspondent of the Shanghai newspaper 'Shi-Sh-Sin Bao').

"Muy-Zia-Vo (Correspondent of the Peking paper 'Tshen-Bao').

"Li-Tshun-Voo (Correspondent of the Peking 'Tshen-Bao').

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